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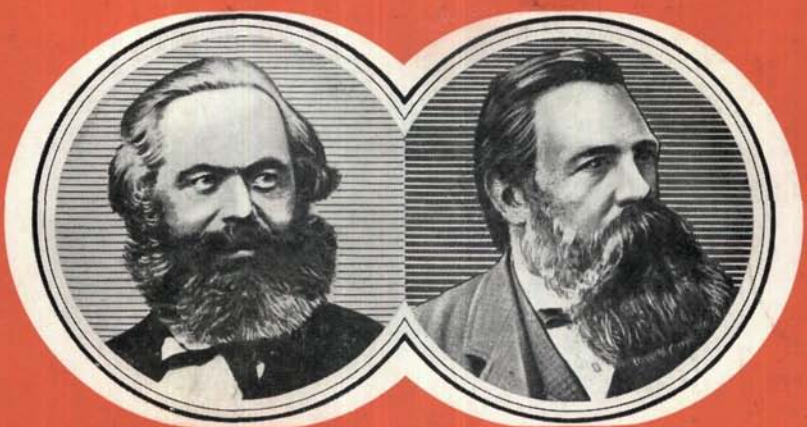
EDITOR . R. PALME DUTT

1848 - 1948



CENTENARY OF THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

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MARCH, 1948 : ONE SHILLING

A MAGAZINE OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR

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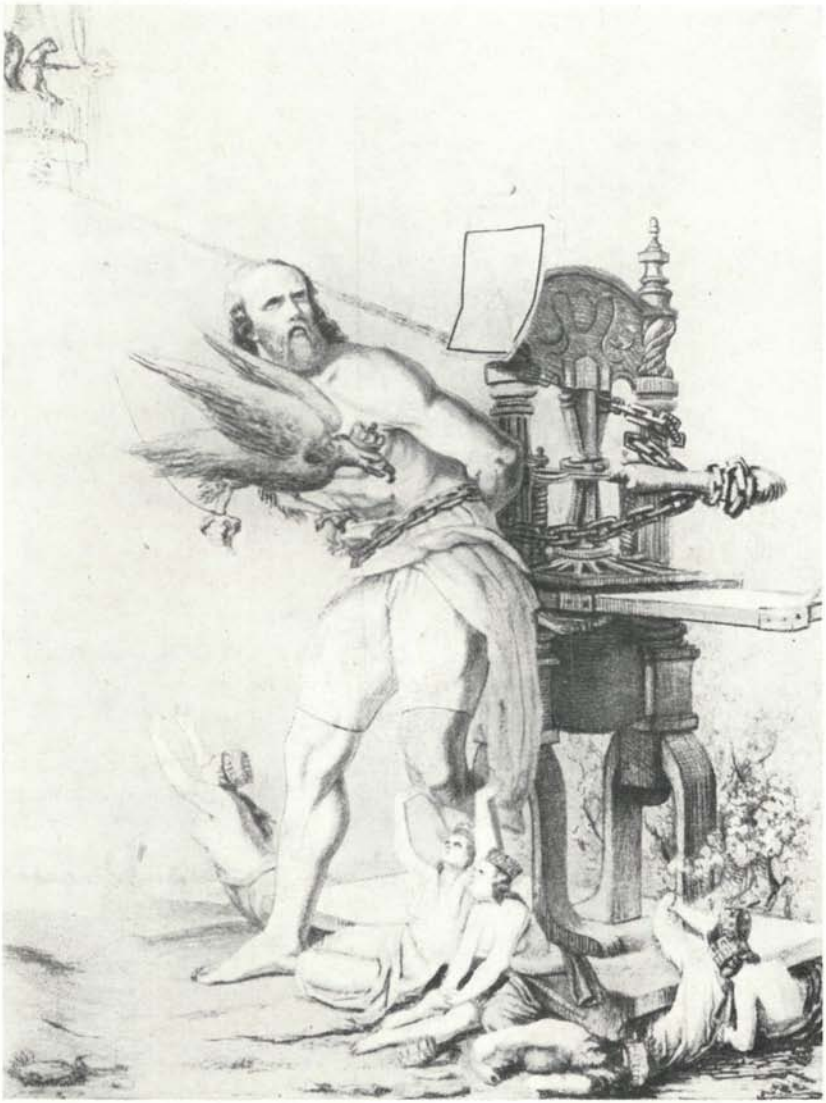

A FAMOUS CARTOON: from the *Rheinische Zeitung*, the first newspaper edited by Karl Marx, whose struggle against the Prussian censorship ended in the complete suppression of the paper. By the printing press stands Prometheus, bound, with the Prussian eagle tearing at his vitals, while the maidens of the Rhineland cities raise their plaint against the royal censorship.

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Vol. XXX. No. 3 CONTENTS March, 1948

	Page
Notes of the Month: *1848 And Today* by R. P. D. ...	65
The Triumph of the Manifesto by ANDREW ROTHSTEIN ...	73
The Anti-Communist Crusade, Then and Now, by J. WINTERNITZ ...	79
Gandhi—the Last Phase by R. PALME DUTT ...	84
Recovery Without Marshall by WALTER STORM ...	88
Marx and Engels a Hundred Years Ago	92
Book Reviews—	
The Trial of Nikola D. Petkov: *Dudley Collard*	94
Démocratie Nouvelle: *R. P. A.*	96
Shorter Notices: *C. P. D., R. P. A.*	96

Notes of the Month

1848 and Today

THE centenary of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* is taking place at a time when the battle for the future of society which it laid bare is approaching its climax. In a three-page centenary article on the Manifesto *The Times Literary Supplement* (13.12.47) concludes:

> That bourgeois society has been put progressively on the defensive in the past hundred years, that its fate still hangs in the balance, few today will deny: and until that fate is settled, until some new synthesis has been achieved, the *Communist Manifesto* will not have said its last word.

This faltering note of salute from those about to die is indeed a contrast to the boundless Victorian self-confidence of a century ago when the Manifesto burst upon the unsuspecting and blinkered world of Macaulay and Metternich, of John Stuart Mill and the Duke of Wellington, and laid bare the mirror of the future. It is a measure of the distance that has been travelled, of the still developing transformation which is reaching its height and era of decision in our day, and of the extending triumph of the principles of the Manifesto.

From Gladstone to Cripps

If Mr. Gladstone, fresh from his annual budget oration on Britain's "intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power", were to have been suddenly confronted with his successor, Sir Stafford Cripps',

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White Paper on Britain's Balance of Payments in 1947, his eyes would certainly have popped out from his head at such a startling reversal of his expectations. On the other hand, Marx and Engels would no doubt have examined it with a lively appreciation of such a drastic fulfilment of their predictions in the classic home of capitalism, now become the classic home of its decline and decay. Nor is this decay and bankruptcy of the old order confined to Britain. All the Western European ancient centres of capitalist prosperity linger apprehensively in the Marshall dole queue. Over the greater part of the diminishing territories of the capitalist world, from the coasts of China to the Atlantic, the front against Communism is maintained only by foreign subsidies or armed intervention. Even in the temporarily prosperity-bloated United States, the rumbles of the approaching economic crisis arouse alarm and uncertainty of the future. As the sombre outlines of the existing chaos are more plainly discerned, denunciations of Communism deafen the ears, from press and pulpit, from parliament and platform. With the monotonous uniformity of a single chorus, the Trumans, Attlees, Marshalls, Bevins, Churchills, Blums, de Gaulles, Morrisons, Schumachers and Chiang Kai-sheks, unite in proclaiming Communism the enemy. New war blocs are planned and announced to "save Western civilisation" from the "menace of Communism". This increasingly violent anti-Communist crusade is not a sign of strength or confidence, but of weakness and panic. Nevertheless, even a dying rat can be dangerous. It is the diseased, ageing tiger that turns man-eater. Hence we must be prepared for further conflicts in front before the final victory of the principles which the Manifesto proclaimed one hundred years ago.

Mr. Attlee Invokes 1848

In his recent New Year war broadcast against the Soviet Union and Communism, Mr. Attlee made one of his occasional infelicitous excursions into history (as in his famous unawareness of the Third Punic War, or his more recent astonishment to learn that William Morris fought for Marxist Communism against reformism). Mr. Attlee sought to invoke the memory of 1848 against the Soviet Union and the new People's Democracies of Eastern Europe. He said:

> A hundred years ago the year 1848 saw Liberals and Socialists in revolt all over Europe against absolute Governments which suppressed all opposition. It is ironical that today the absolutists who suppress opposition much more vigorously than the kings and emperors of the past masquerade under the name of upholders of democracy. It is a tragedy that a section of the movement which began in an endeavour to free the souls and bodies of men should have been perverted into an instrument for their enslavement . . . .
>
> Today in Eastern Europe the Communist Party, while overthrowing an economic tyranny of landlordism and capitalism, has renounced the doctrines of individual freedom and political democracy and rejected the whole spiritual heritage of Western Europe.

Who dares to speak of '48? Why, Mr. Attlee with the valour of ignorance.

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Lenin on British Socialists and 1848

It would be difficult to combine more blindness, unhistorical confusion and denial of every principle of socialism in a single passage. In the first place, the Revolutions of 1848 were—Revolutions, that is, everything against which the prim soul of Mr. Attlee and Fabian servility recoils in horror. They were fought with arms and barricades; the masses were on the streets; the soldiers refused their duty; the police were overpowered; the National Guards joined the people. Lenin writes how the practical revolutionary experience of 1848 was the very "starting point" and "central point" in the development of the whole strategy and tactics of Marxism, which, building from that experience and correcting its errors and weaknesses, reached its fruition and victory in 1917 and the great social and political changes in Eastern Europe today:

> In the activities of Marx and Engels, the period of their participation in the mass revolutionary struggle of 1848-49 stands out as a central point. This served as their starting point in determining the destiny of the labour movement and of democracy in different countries.

Lenin goes on to stress how reaction has always tried to "eradicate from the minds of the people the memory and traditions of the revolutionary epoch of 1848", and makes special reference to the Fabians:

> Just as the Webbs, those stupid apologists of English philistinism, try to represent Chartism, the revolutionary epoch of the English labour movement, as pure childishness, as the "sowing of wild oats", as naïveté, as an accidental and abnormal deviation not deserving serious attention, so the German bourgeois historians treat the year 1848 in Germany.
>
> (Lenin, "Against the Boycott", 1907).

But at least the older Fabians and Revisionists knew that the memory of 1848 was political dynamite to be buried deep out of view. It has been left to their illiterate disciples to imagine that they could use 1848 as a big stick to beat 1917.

How to Lose a Revolution

In the second place, the Revolutions of 1848 all failed. They were not models of successful revolutions to contrast with the fiasco of 1917. On the contrary. Their deepest historical significance lay in their failure, and in the lessons which the working class was able to draw from their failure in order, with the guidance of Marxism, to build the way forward, through the new model of the Commune in 1871, to the victory of 1917. And the secret of their failure lay precisely in that "liberal", i.e. bourgeois anti-working class element, which Mr. Attlee now seeks to pick out as their teaching for today. The Second Republic in France ended in the despotism of the Empire; the Paris workers, whose rising had overthrown the monarchy, were shot down in thousands in the streets by those very "Liberals" whom Mr. Attlee extols as the true bearers of the revolution. Mr. Attlee has mistaken Cavaignac as the hero of 1848. The last flare-up of Chartism in Britain was crushed by Wellington and ended in failure and

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repression, to be followed by the long "slumber" of the British working class losing sight of their revolutionary mission. In Germany and Austria the initial victories of the democratic revolution, won by the courage of the workers, were thrown away by the ignominious impotence and treachery of the bourgeoisie who, in the words of Marx, "sacrificed the people to the crown", and thus inaugurated the ill-starred development of Germany whereby the bourgeois national unification took place, not through the democratic revolution, but along the Bismarckian path under Junker-militarist-Hohenzollern domination. Similarly the bourgeois national unification of Italy took place, not under the leadership of Garibaldi, but of Cavour, and under the auspices of the House of Savoy. Poland remained prostrate and partitioned until the twentieth century.

How Not to Learn the Lessons of 1848

Marx wrote of the significance of 1848:

> With the exception of a few short chapters, every important part of the annals of the revolution from 1848 to 1849 carried the heading: Defeat of the Revolution!
>
> But what succumbed in these defeats was not the revolution. It was the pre-revolutionary traditional appendages, results of social relationships which had not yet come to the point of sharp class antagonisms—persons, illusions, conceptions, projects, from which the revolutionary party before the February Revolution was not free, from which it could be freed, not by the victory of February, but only by a series of defeats.
>
> (Marx, "Class Struggles in France").

Mr. Attlee now tries to revive precisely those "illusions, conceptions, projects" which expressed the weaknesses of the revolutions of 1848 and underlay their defeat. He castigates the oak tree for betrayal of the acorn. He is amazed that a victorious socialist revolution should differ from a miscarried bourgeois revolution.

Why 1848 Failed

But the lessons of 1848 were learned through Marxism and paved the way for the victory of 1917. The revolutions of 1848 were in their essential content bourgeois democratic and national revolutions against the shackles of feudal-monarchical institutions, serving to clear the way for ascendant capitalism; the workers bore the brunt of the fighting and strove already for their own aims (the "social republic", the red flag); but class relations were not yet ripened, the working class had not yet the organised strength or political clarity to assume the leadership; leadership was in the hands of the bourgeoisie, with the aid of the vacillating petty bourgeoisie or "Social Democracy" or "Democratic Socialists" as they called themselves (Louis Blanc, etc.). But unlike the era of the Great French Revolution the working class, if not yet strong enough to lead, was already strong enough to alarm the bourgeoisie. Faced with the insurgent challenge of the working class, the bourgeoisie hastily abandoned its revolutionary pretensions, made peace with the aristocracy and old order and passed into the camp of counter-revolution; the workers were massacred and their revolutionary

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leaders executed or exiled; the bubble of Social Democracy was exploded (Louis Blanc characteristically ended in the Versailles Camp against the Commune).

From 1848 to 1917

Through the long succeeding era of triumphant capitalism, of the Victorian Compromise, and its partial, limited hypocritical democracy, the working class had to prepare and train and organise its ranks, under the guidance of Marxism, for the future battle. Independent working class parties on the basis of Marxism had to be built up. Capitalism had to reach the era of imperialism, of decay and downfall. Marxism had to be purged of the dross and accretions of capitalist influence through unworthy disciples, and re-formulated and hardened and steeled, under the guidance of Lenin and Stalin, in the shape of Bolshevism. Only so was the working class at length able to win power in 1917. Only so was the working class able, as Mr. Attlee is compelled to admit, to " overthrow landlordism and capitalism". Only so was socialism victorious. And then, thirty years later, when the triumphant victory of socialism has been finally tested and proved in the most terrible war ordeal in history against the black night of fascist barbarism, Mr. Attlee emerges to complain that the hoary bourgeois-liberal values of 1848, concealing suppression of the workers and containing the seeds of counter-revolution and future fascism, have disappeared into the real socialist classless freedom of the first victorious socialist revolution. The greybeard " gropes for the old familiar stone, and weeps to find it overthrown".

For Capitalism or the Working Class?

Mr. Attlee admits that the working people of Eastern Europe, under the leadership of Communism, have "overthrown the tyranny of landlordism and capitalism", or, as he declared in his oration to the Oxford students on February 13, " have put a different class in", BUT—and then follow his objections. There is no "but". Does not Mr. Attlee know that socialists in every country have for decades taught that capitalism is wage-slavery? Yet now Mr. Attlee discovers that the abolition of wage-slavery has abolished " individual freedom". Shades of Hayek and Herbert Spencer! Mr. Attlee identifies "freedom" with the countries of capitalist wage-slavery, and finds its realisation in the lovely face of the millionaires' paradise, the United States, which, with an " economy based on capitalism", represents " individual liberty " and " human rights". All his denunciation is reserved for the only land where socialism has been realised. Of course, for the exploiter socialism means the end of his " freedom". For the worker it means the beginning of freedom. Socialists have always taught that the indispensable condition of real liberation is the abolition of classes. The degree of coercive measures accompanying the transition depends entirely on the intensity of class conflict. The decisive test of liberation is not whether coercive measures have been employed, but whether class power has been transferred, and whether

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capitalist class ownership has been abolished. The issue is never an issue of abstract constitutional principles in an imaginary world, but of concrete class alignment in the real world.

Mr. Attlee's Theory and Practice

When Mr. Attlee counterposes the bourgeois-liberal slogans of 1848 to the socialist achievement of 1948, when he counterposes the "liberty" of the capitalist United States to the "totalitarian" "inverted Czarism" of the Socialist Soviet Union, he is revealing his class alignment. Behind all the fair-seeming "liberal" phrases he is revealing that he stands with the camp of capitalism against the camp of socialism. And in practical politics, just as Louis Blanc completed his "democratic socialism" by lining up with the Versailles camp of White terror against the Paris workers' Commune, so Mr. Attlee completes his "theory" with practice, when, amid the applause of Toryism, he lines up Britain with the United States citadel of big business reaction, seeks to build the Western imperialist bloc based on colonial slavery and anti-Communist and anti-Soviet incitement, and at home launches the White Paper offensive against the real wages and standards of the workers to save British capitalism in crisis. Such is the class reality behind the sweet "liberal" phrases of "individual freedom" and "human rights".

Left and Right

"Continental Socialism has lost its terrors for us". So proclaimed the Chairman of the Trades Union Congress in 1887, quoted by Engels in his 1888 Preface to the Communist Manifesto. But the belated Mr. Attlee endeavours sixty years later to revive the "terrors" for the innocent youth of Oxford when he speaks of "Communism bred on the Continent" (oh, that so shocking "Continent"!) "in the atmosphere of authoritarianism", and contrasts "our British Socialism" based on "Christianity" and "our British history". "I have never admitted that the Communists are on the Left", exclaims the bold Mr. Morrison at Leicester on January 11; "they are on the Right". Of course any juggler can call Left Right and Right Left till he is blue in the face, if it amuses him. Hitler can call himself "Socialist", and Mr. Bevin can discover the Soviet Union to be "imperialist". But in the real world the question is not a question of a trickster's arbitrary juggling with political terms. In the real world there is a real fight between the workers and the exploiters. The Right is the camp of the exploiters. The Left is the camp of the exploited fighting to end their exploitation and slavery and to win a new society; in the first place, of the working class; and with them, of all sections struggling against the yoke of finance-capital. In the real world everyone knows that the Communists are the most active, militant section of the working class, the most unyielding fighters against the exploiters, against reaction and fascism, and for a new society. Indeed, there seems to have been a slip-up between Mr. Morrison and his propaganda machine in Transport House on this matter. For in the same month

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in which Mr. Morrison made his speech, the Labour Party official quarterly "Forum" published an editorial "Is It a Mandate?" to reply to the Tory plea that the Labour majority in parliament represented a minority of the electors by adding together the Labour, Communist, I.L.P., and Common Wealth vote and declaring that this represented the vote of "the Left". Evidently Mr. Morrison does not believe in letting his Left hand know what his Right hand is doing. The irresponsible lack of principle in the selection of political terms is only the reflection of the equal lack of principle in real politics.

The Fight is Here

Last month we declared that the Morgan Phillips circular against the Communists would inevitably prove the "prelude" of the offensive against the working class, against the trade unions, against real wages and the standards of the people. On February 4, the Attlee White Paper on Wages and Personal Incomes launched the offensive. In proportion as the trade unions prove resistant, as four million workers strive to press forward their just wage demands in face of rising prices, the threat of compulsion is brought into play. It is recognised that the economic and political future of Britain is involved in the present battle. Sir Stafford Cripps darkly hints at Edinburgh on February 7 that, failing acceptance by the trade unions of "sound economic lines" (i.e. the demands of the big capitalists), "the alternative is likely to prove some forms of totalitarian Government". The class realities break through the façade of liberal phrases.

Marx's Prediction for Britain in 1848

On December 31, 1848, in an article entitled "New Year, 1849", Marx wrote of Britain and the European Revolution. In a famous passage he wrote:

> The country which transforms whole nations into proletarians; which with its gigantic arms encompasses the whole globe; which has already once defrayed the cost of the European counter-revolution; and in which class antagonism has reached a high degree of development—England appears to be the rock on which the revolutionary waves split and disperse, and which starves the coming society even in the womb. England dominates the world markets. A revolution of the economic conditions of any country of the European Continent or even of the whole Continent is but a storm in a glass of water unless England actively participates in it.

This passage is famous. Less well known is the sequel in which Marx casts a lightning glance into the future and foresees the downfall of Britain's commercial supremacy through world war and the consequent advance of the British working class to victory:

> Any social revolutionary upheaval in Europe must necessarily miscarry unless the English bourgeoisie or the industrial and commercial supremacy of Great Britain is shaken . . . And old England will only be overthrown in a world war, which alone would give the Chartist Party, the organised English Labour Party, the possibility of a successful rising against its stupendous oppressor.

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Marx concluded in a passage which may well still give rise to thought:

> England will as in the time of Napoleon stand at the head of the counter-revolutionary armies, but through the war itself will be thrown to the head of the revolutionary movement and will settle the debt for its guilt towards the revolution of the eighteenth century.

The Fight Goes Forward

History is indeed bringing fulfilment to Marx's prediction, as always in more intricate, complex and protracted fashion than any, even the most sharp-sighted gazer into the future, could foresee. It has taken, not one, but two world wars to bring Britain's commercial supremacy crashing to the ground. The political sequel has brought, not yet the victory of the working class, but the initial victory of Reformism at the head of the working class, at the head of the Labour Party, to the rudder of government, in order that this experience too shall be drained to the dregs to prelude the final victory of the working class, of Communism. The counter-revolutionary role of Britain against the European working class revolution was revealed already in the wars of intervention after the first world war, and again, on a higher scale, in the building up of Hitler and Fascism as the weapon against the Socialist Soviet Union. But already this second offensive revealed its contradictory outcome when, through the experience of the war, Britain, which had originally built up Hitler and Fascism, found itself ending the war as the ally of the Soviet Union for the military defeat of Hitler and Fascism. Now the third attempt is being made, through the Marshall-Truman strategy and the Western Bloc under American control, to make Britain the pawn of international counter-revolution for a third world war. But this time the conditions are infinitely more ripe for the reversal of this plan and to turn it into its opposite. And if the war were let loose, it would assuredly most rapidly be turned into its opposite. Our concern must be to hasten the pace of this evolution, before the strategy of reaction and bankruptcy of reformism brings new miseries and economic crisis and war on Britain and the world; to awaken and mobilise the working class and the people for the present fight for living standards and peace, for a new Government of the Left, for the independence of Britain, for the victory of the working class, so that Britain shall take its rightful place in the forefront of progressive nations advancing to socialism. For this fight the Congress of the Communist Party at the end of February is preparing the path forward. To this fight the centenary of the Communist Manifesto calls us today.

February 18, 1948. R. P. D.

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THE TRIUMPH OF THE MANIFESTO

By ANDREW ROTHSTEIN

A century ago Walt Whitman wrote of the European revolution of 1848/49:

> Suddenly, out of its stale and drowsy lair, the lair of slaves,
> Like lightning it leapt forth half startled at itself,
> Its feet upon the ashes and the rags, its hands tight to the throats of Kings.

Scorning the ferocity of their rulers, overlooking the murders, broken promises, court thieves "worming from his simplicity the poor man's wages", the people struck no blows of revenge, beheaded no nobles:

> But the sweetness of mercy brewed bitter destruction,
> And the frightened monarchs come back:
> Each comes in state with his train, hangman, priest, taxgatherer,
> Soldier, lawyer, lord, jailer and sycophant.
>
> Yet behind all, lowering, stealing, lo, a Shape,
> Vague as the night, draped interminably, head, front and form in scarlet folds,
> Whose face and eyes none may see,
> Out of its robes only this, the red robes lifted by the arm,
> One finger crooked, pointed high over the top, like the head of a snake . . . .

The spectre of Communism still haunted Europe, when its enemies were sure it had been laid for ever. In that the poet was more far-seeing, for all his horror of the portent, than most of his contemporaries. Today Communism is no more the "nursery tale" ridiculed by its adherents of various nationalities, assembled at their London Congress in November, 1847. It is no longer "a power": over one-sixth of the world of 1948, it is a Great Power—and elsewhere it is leading whole nations out of capitalist exploitation. One-tenth of the world's population was following the banner of Communism in 1938, while today the proportion is nearer one-fifth. The holy alliance against it has been re-formed—but its headquarters have shifted westwards to the shores of the Atlantic, now that the red flag is flying over the lands once ruled by the Czar and by Metternich, and the Pope himself sits uneasily on a shaking throne. The *Communist Manifesto* today is a million times more dangerous to the capitalist world than it was in 1848.

How can this be? What makes a document written a century ago so politically alive? What gives it such strength in 1948 that, as Lenin wrote in his article on the death of Friedrich Engels, "the whole organised and fighting proletariat of the civilised world lives and moves in its spirit to this day"? Whence comes this seemingly inexhaustible vitality, locked up in a mere sixpenny booklet, enabling it to defy thousands of learned refutations and final exposures, generations of philistine ridicule, countless prohibitions and confiscations?

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The answer is simple, and given by the *Manifesto* itself. The more the capitalist class has persecuted Marxism, the more surely it has "acted according to Marx", and supplied perennial youth and significance to the *Manifesto*:

> Not only has the bourgoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield these weapons—the modern working class—the proletarians. In proportion as the bourgeoisie, i.e. capital, is developed, in the same proportion is the proletariat developed. . . . The development of modern industry, therefore, cuts from under the feet of the bourgeoisie the very foundation on which it produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers.

In 1847 the ardent young men who wrote the *Manifesto* saw the results of seventy-five years' industrial development shattering feudal Europe. They could not tell that capitalism was still in its youth. Just under half a century later, one of them was to write:*

> The state of economic development on the Continent at that time was not, by a long way, ripe for the removal of capitalist production; it has proved this by the economic revolution which, since 1848, has seized the whole of the Continent, has really caused big industry for the first time to take root in France, Austria, Hungary, Poland, and, recently, in Russia, while it has made Germany postively an industrial country of the first rank—all on a capitalist basis.

Thanks to this, wrote Engels, the struggle of bourgeoisie and proletariat had spread over the whole of Europe, and had "reached an intensity such as was unthinkable in 1848". Nor was all the tale told in Engels' day: the age of imperialism, the division of the whole world into markets for the export of capital by great capitalist monopolies, still lay ahead. Only when that stage had been reached, when capitalism had finally advanced to the confines of the globe, and the struggle for *redivision* of the world had begun, did the capitalist network begin to be torn asunder—over one vast area in 1917, over others since then.

If the Manifesto was a true analysis in 1848, how much truer and more compelling its logic in 1948! If Marx and Engels, with the clear-sightedness of genius, could accurately foretell the future destinies of capitalist society, from study of its past and dissection of its present, when it was still in its youth, how much more authoritative become the conclusions they drew when we stand at the *other end* of the history of capitalism, when the era of its breakup is manifestly, tangibly far advanced—when both analysis and conclusions have been confirmed by one hundred years of experience! Can there be any doubts of such confirmation?

Marx and Engels began their analysis with an account of the forms of society which succeeded each other as modes of production changed, and of the class struggles through which society was again and again reconstituted on new foundations. They showed how the bourgeoisie had, in its turn, "pushed into the background every class

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**Introduction to "The Class Struggles in France"* (1895).

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handed down from the Middle Ages" and conquered "exclusive political sway" for itself in the modern parliamentary State.

Has not the history of country after country since 1848 proved them right? Feudal absolutism already in decay in Russia at that date; feudalism still "pure" and uncorrupted in Japan and nearly all China; tribal society in vast stretches of Asia, Africa and Latin America—have not they all recapitulated, in a few short *decades* of the nineteenth or twentieth centuries, the process of evolution which in Europe took *hundreds of years*, directly European capitalism reached out and touched them with its iron scourge? True, the representatives of the old regimes in Russia, in China, in Japan, in India have all cried out in their turn that capitalism was "an alien importation", foreign to their "way of life": but that did not arrest the march of history or the heavy artillery—military or commercial—of the bourgeoisie. And if the native capitalists did not, in all countries, conquer "exclusive political sway" for themselves, but shared it as junior partners with their former feudal rulers (in Germany with the Junkers, in Russia with the landowning gentry, in China and Japan with the feudal militarists), this was not through any strength of feudalism. It was out of fear of the proletariat—that fear which already, in June, 1848, "so shook the bourgeoisie of all countries that they fled back into the arms of the monarchist-feudal reaction which had just been overthrown", as Engels wrote.

Marx and Engels went on to describe in detail how the bourgeoisie was already, in their day, changing the world—substituting money for every other content in the established institutions of society, penetrating to all parts of the globe in search of markets, upsetting national limitations both in material production and in the world of the intellect, concentrating property into a few hands, bringing together nations out of loosely connected provinces, turning whole peasant nations into colonies subjected to "nations of bourgeois". The bourgeoisie during its class rule of barely a century had "created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together".

Who would venture to challenge this picture today? Has it not been reaffirmed in politicians' boasts and priestly lamentations, by the greatest and most humanist of novelists and the most hard-headed captains of industry, by scientists and economists? And has not the sordid agreement of large sections of better-paid workers, in the countries controlling great empires, to join in the robbery of tens of millions of colonial toilers—disguised, of course, with sweet-sounding words like "trusteeship" and "responsibility"—justified Marx's and Engels' stinging words (repeated more than once in after years) about "nations of bourgeois"?

Then comes the picture of capitalist crises—their origin, their nature, their inevitable recurrence. How often have bourgeois economists, statesmen, scientists (even astrologers) striven to find some other explanations than those of Marx and Engels! What panaceas

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have not been put forward to cure them! As recently as 1929, President Hoover and his Wall Street masters were trumpeting abroad the "American Way" to prosperity, and yet another defeat of Marx, on the eve of the greatest economic crisis in the history of capitalism. Always the little sixpenny booklet has proved right, and the economic astrologers and Stock Exchange Canutes wrong.

From bourgeois we pass to proletarians. The *Manifesto* describes, in vivid language anticipating those magnificent historical chapters of a book yet unborn—*Capital*—the genesis of the modern working class, its enslavement by the machine, its exploitation, its recruitment from the other lower strata of society. In country after country since then—Germany, Russia, India—anti-Marxists tried vainly for years to prove that Marx was wrong, that their country was immune from such afflictions.

Then comes the historic passage—the heart of the *Communist Manifesto*—in which its authors trace the slow growth of proletarian class consciousness, from the first struggles of individual labourers against their employers to the point at which " the more or less veiled civil war raging within existing society . . . . breaks out into open revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat". The latter appears as the only " really revolutionary class", defending the interests of all other exploited sections of society.

What frenzied efforts have been made to put a drag on the process, to befog the minds of the proletarians, to blind them to the prospects, to cajole or bully or distract them into wandering off in some other direction!

Religion used its authority. In 1849 Pope Pius IX issued an Encyclical denouncing Socialists and Communists as " modern enemies of God and human society". Leo XIII tried more dulcet tones in 1891, explaining that Socialists would deprive the worker " of the liberty of disposing of his wages", that " private ownership is in accordance with the law of nature", and that it was wrong to think that " class is naturally hostile to class". Religion would teach the rich to " refrain from cutting down the workmen's earnings". In 1931 the Vatican judged this pronouncement sufficiently important to be reaffirmed in the Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*.

Reactionary nationalism tried its hand. In 1870, the Russian Minister of the Interior issued instructions to local authorities to exile without trial those fomenting strikes—" this form of expression of discontent so alien to the Russian people". In 1886, Katkov, one of the mostly widely-read of reactionary journalists, wrote that strikes and " the tragicomedy of the struggle of labour and capital" were artificial, the result of the "irresponsible borrowing of institutions from alien countries". In 1907, Tsardom justified its arrest of all the Social-Democratic (Marxist) members of the Duma on the ground that the latter must be " Russian in its spirit".

In Britain, more refined methods were used. By mass action,

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provoked by the persecution of trade unionism, the workers secured some political rights under the Reform Act of 1867. Commenting on this, Bagehot—the leading political theoretician of the day—declared in 1872 that "a political combination of the lower classes, as such and for their own objects, is an evil of the first magnitude": and urged both Liberals and Tories to see that "they are not taught to act together", i.e. to act as a class. The effort failed. A Labour Party was formed in 1900, and it won a majority in 1945, on a platform which declared that the Labour Government would not tolerate "freedom to exploit other people, freedom to pay poor wages and to push up prices for selfish profit". But on January 3, 1948, the Labour Prime Minister repudiated the idea of Government economic planning "on a class basis"—i.e. in the interests of the lower classes, and denounced other governments which had done so, for abandoning "the doctrines of individual freedom"—i.e.—freedom for capitalists as well as for workers. A month later, his party head office issued a pamphlet designed to persuade the workers that they must aspire not to control industry, i.e. to overthrow capitalist power, but only to "participate in control", i.e. to work with the capitalists.

While the *Manifesto* discerned, on the eve of 1848, that the bourgeoisie was already "unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society"—and how many devastating wars, how many frightful crises, what pauperism and mass unemployment, demonstrated the truth of this in the next hundred years—British Labour leaders, in 1947 and 1948, devoted much of their energies to warning the working class that it is not yet fitted to govern society. This, too, was anticipated by the *Manifesto,* in its section on "bourgeois Socialism". This it described as advocacy of reforms without the abolition of bourgeois relations of production: for fifty years the propaganda theme of the Fabian Society, which, beginning with the threat to "permeate" capitalism with Socialist ideas, has succeeded only in permeating the upper ranks of the Labour Party (two-thirds of the Parliamentary Party, so it boasts) with bourgeois ideas.

Against these and other false substitutes for a party "clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement", the *Manifesto* named the Communists, stating clearly the characteristics distinguishing them from other working-class parties:

1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality.

2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

Their theoretical conclusions were not based on invented ideas of utopian reformers but on the facts of history.

Has not subsequent history, too, justified this claim? It was the Communists Marx and Engels who guided the formation in 1864 of

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the first international association of working men based on their common interests, "independently of all nationality". Whereas, as Engels tells us, " Socialism " in 1847 was a middle class movement and Communism a working class movement, by 1887 " continental Socialism had become almost completely the theory heralded in the *Manifesto*", and the latter had become " the common programme of many millions of workers in all lands from Siberia to California", united under the common title of Social-Democracy. By 1917, again, corrupted by their share in the super-profits of imperialist monopoly, most parties bearing that name had become, in a new sense, a middle-class movement, dominating the working class in each country: and the first proletarian party to break away from this distortion of the principles of the *Communist Manifesto*, and to lead the workers of its own country to " the sway of the proletariat", set the example of resuming the proud title of Communist.

As though to underline the dialectical revolution of ideas which had taken place, the "dirty shirt" of Social-Democracy (as Lenin called it when pressing for a change in the name of the Bolshevik Party) has in recent years been eagerly picked up by the leaders of the Labour Party. For several decades they had fought the very name and everything connected with it, pluming themselves on their remoteness from Continental ideas—so long as " Social-Democracy " had any association with Marxism, i.e. the revolutionary policy of the working class. True, the content they have now put into the term—something like " freedom for all classes", for the capitalist as for the worker, for the boa-constrictor as for its prey—has brought them, too, back to 1848: to the standpoint of the " Democratic Socialists", Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc, who led the Paris workers so successfully to defeat and massacre by the bourgeoisie in the days of June.

For the rest, it is sufficient to point out that the withering exposure by Marx and Engels of the principal charges against the Communists —abolition of bourgeois property, of bourgeois culture, of the bourgeois family, of nationality and of " eternal truths such as Freedom, Justice, etc."—is just as fresh and pointed today as a hundred years ago, for the obvious reason that these charges are still the weapons of propaganda against the Communists of 1948. The programme of "despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production", which the *Manifesto* thought " pretty generally applicable" by the proletariat, once it has won the " battle for democracy" and is " organised as the ruling class", has proved a brilliant prophecy of the policy of the first Socialist State—the U.S.S.R.—and a guide to that of the countries which have taken the path of people's democracy, away from monopoly capitalism and towards Socialism. The fight for universal suffrage and freedom of association in many countries during the last thirty years before 1914, the fight for the united front of the working class and the people's front against Fascism and war in the twenty years after 1919, were the application in practice of the *Manifesto's* declaration:

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The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of the movement.

That future, as we know, is now exemplified—in its own particular form—in one great country. The "Communist revolution" in Russia has proved truly that it is only the ruling classes who need tremble: the proletarians have indeed found that they have nothing to lose in it but their chains. The growth of the ranks of the Communists—1,300,000 in the U.S.S.R., 1 million elsewhere, in 1928; 6 millions in the U.S.S.R., 13 millions elsewhere, in 1947—shows that the workers are steadily moving nearer to the goal—"a world to win"—set before them by the *Communist Manifesto*.

THE ANTI-COMMUNIST CRUSADE, THEN AND NOW

By J. WINTERNITZ

COMMUNISM, denounced and dreaded, was still but an infant Hercules in 1848: it was just beginning to become a political power in Europe. Chartism in Britain had developed as the first, strong, independent, militant, working-class movement. Although not communist in its programme and outlook, Chartism had a strong revolutionary section led by Julian Harney and Ernest Jones; these felt the potent influence of communist ideas and maintained the closest fraternal relations with Marx, Engels, and other founders of the Communist League.

France was the only country where Communism was a real political force. It was alive in a number of secret societies which worked for the overthrow of Louis Philippe's oppressive rule. The idea of the left wing in the French Revolution, the ideas of Babeuf, that political equality was not enough and that social inequality should be abolished by abolishing private property, won influence among the advanced workers and the radical Republicans. These were the ideas of the eternal conspirator, the indomitable professional revolutionary Blanqui, and his "Society of the Seasons." His attempt to establish a workers' government by an armed insurrection of a few hundred men was easily defeated in 1839, but the idea that social equality could only be won when the working class wins political power took deep roots in the minds of the Paris workers.

Lorenz von Stein, author of "Socialism and Communism in present-day France", published in 1842, wrote:

> "Since 1839 the Communist movement in rapid progress spread over all provinces of France and over all propertyless classes. Communist theories and ideas penetrated into all workshops, into all working class dwellings, and this unrest of growing up seizes even the most humble among them."

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In Germany Communist ideas, infiltrating from France, had just begun to influence a small number of the most advanced workers and intellectuals, mostly those who had managed to escape the stifling atmosphere of the thirty-three more or less despotically ruled principalities of which the German Reich at that time consisted. The Communist League for which Marx and Engels drafted the Manifesto was not more than a small conspirative propaganda society.

Nevertheless even these weak beginnings frightened the bourgeois ideologists. The same von Stein, who wrote in September, 1847,

> "There is no German Socialism or Communism. . . . nothing but a rather faint reflex of French tendencies",

warned:

> "It is in vain to deceive ourselves and not to see that Communism comes nearer to our fatherland every day, and it is a holy duty, to get ready for the struggle which may threaten the fundaments of State and society more than the most powerful external enemy."

The issue of the time was obviously not the Socialist revolution. Europe was on the eve of a bourgeois-democratic revolution. Political democracy, general suffrage, a liberal constitution, national independence—these were, in various forms in various countries, the demands put forward by the progressive parties. England was the only country where the industrial bourgeoisie had won supremacy, where after the Reform Bill of 1832 the working class was the only class really interested in an extension of the suffrage. In France where under Louis Philippe, the Bourgeois King, only a small section of the bourgeoisie, the financial oligarchy, shared political power with the big landowners, a campaign for electoral reform rallied the middle class against a regime discredited by its corruption and its futile reactionary adventures abroad. In Central Europe under the sway of semi-feudal absolutism the struggle for national unity and independence, for democratic rights and constitutional liberties had begun.

Under these conditions it was obviously in the interests of the middle class to appeal to the rising working class, to mobilise it for the battle of democracy. It was in the interest of the old reactionary powers, the Tsar and Metternich, French Conservatives and German despots, to use the bogy of Communism for the purpose of frightening the middle class and splitting and weakening the democratic forces. They did so with remarkable success. Guizot, the conservative Premier of France, opposed electoral reform with the argument that an extension of the suffrage would endanger the fundaments of society. To the French Assembly in March, 1847, he said:

> The principle of universal suffrage is in itself so absurd that there is no one among its partisans who would dare to accept and maintain it in its entirety. Under no circumstances could every human creature be called upon to exercise political rights. Intellectual capacity alone is insufficient. If a certain property is assumed as the basis of intelligence, it is assumed that intelligence is enlightened on the true and essential interests of social order by its social position.

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GANDHI—THE LAST PHASE

By R. PALME DUTT

GANDHI died as he had lived—battling in the cause of India and humanity. He died, as Abraham Lincoln died, as Marat, as Jaures, as so many leaders of the battle of human liberation—at the hands of an assassin, the tool of the dark forces. He who at the age of seventy-eight years might well have sought the peace of retirement after half a century of leadership, threw himself into the breach, when others failed or faltered, and gave his life and his blood to save India from the hideous orgy of communal carnage and reaction that had followed on the ill-omened August settlement against whose consequences he had warned.

In death all pay him honour. The Amerys and the Churchills, who persecuted him in life, throw their flower upon his pyre. But the record of his last battle, and the manner of his death, must not be buried in the stiff mausoleum of official obsequies. For that record is political dynamite that may yet from his ashes stir India to renewed life and struggle against the dark forces which are seeking to strangle Indian liberation. The last phase of Gandhi was in truth the crown of his life.

The real Gandhi with difficulty peeps through the official obsequies. His devotees seek to deify him into a saint; when, if any man was "human, all too human", that man was Gandhi. His detractors can with ease pick out his weaknesses and inconsistencies in a manner which only reveals their own pettiness and inability to understand the greatness that was in him.

Gandhi's greatness of spirit, his honesty, courage and love of humanity shine through and transcend the many inconsistencies and contradictions, even failures of leadership, which were the expression of the social conditions of his era, of the still confused, immature, transitional stage of popular and national awakening that he at once inspired and reflected.

For over a quarter of a century Gandhi incarnated the Indian national movement, in an era when the real content and conscious direction of the movement could only express the striving of the Indian bourgeois revolution, but when the mass upsurge which was the driving force of the movement revealed above all the first stirring from century-old slumber of the masses of the peasantry, still bound by a hundred ties of ancient traditions, religious and social conservatism, naïve and fanciful backward-looking or utopian yearnings couched in language of mythological legend, but groping their way forward to basic social change. No other leader than Gandhi could have bridged the gap, during this transitional period, between the actual bourgeois direction of the national movement and the awakening, but not yet conscious masses. Both for good and for evil

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trophe of 1870, the crushing defeat by Prussia, after which this country never again recovered its leading position in Europe.

In Germany the desertion of democratic revolution by the middle class gave the old semi-feudal aristocracy, led by Bismarck, the chance to assume leadership in unifying Germany in their Prussian, militarist way. This laid the basis of the reactionary, aggressive German imperialism which after two disastrous wars ended with the greatest national catastrophe in Germany's troubled history. A hundred years after 1848 the German working class has still to solve the task of German democratic unity which the German middle class, obsessed by its fear of the working class, proved unable to solve.

The nations under the yoke of the Habsburg Empire had to pay with many decades of oppression for the reactionary cowardice of their middle classes.

The methods of calumny, suppression, false promises, provocation and corruption were applied over and over again in this century in order to destroy this menacing spectre. The crusade against Communism culminated in the orgies of Fascism. And again, it was not only Communists, but all sincere democrats, all honest defenders of national freedom who had to suffer when the anti-Communist crusade won temporary victories. Yet what is the result of this century of the Holy Alliance against Communism which now again embraces all representatives of the old world from the remnants of Fascism and their followers in Wall Street and Washington to the Right Wing Socialists? The " spectre " of 1847 has become the strongest power of our time. If it was impossible to intimidate, to break, to annihilate Communism by all the anti-Communist crusades of a century, it certainly is the most hopeless undertaking now.

The reactionary powers of our time, led by the American monopoly capitalists, cannot but try the impossible once more. For them it is a question of survival as a privileged class. But those who do not belong to this tiny privileged minority but are to be duped by the anti-Communist campaign, should be warned. If the democratic forces be split and weakened by the futile attempts to isolate the Communists, the most consistent fighters for democracy and Socialism, the agonies of a dying society will be prolonged, the weaker nations will fall a prey to the overwhelming power of the one extant strong imperialist power and the danger of another world war, terrible above every apprehension, will become acute.

It is time that the British people should learn the lesson of history: anti-Communism is the most dangerous weapon of reaction, unity of the workers and all progressive people; unity with the Communists is the only way forward in the battle for Democracy and Socialism.

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that England was safe against revolutionary dangers because here the people had already won all those constitutional rights for which the nations on the Continent were fighting. Yet they see " a shadow ":

> No theory will satisfy those who suffer the stern reality of degradation and denial. The needy millions want something more than the cold eye of justice, or the illusory smiles of freedom. They want houses, food and clothing. They want time to live, and time to die, and for this purpose the assistance of the State to which they contribute so much . . . We have imposed upon the State the duty of supplying work to the willing and relief to the destitute. . . .We cannot better denote the spirit of our advice than by referring to the chief stigma we had to endure. Not a month has passed for many a long year without a repetition of the charge that we are falling into the errors of Communism. The smallest interference with wages, time, circumstances of employment, was compared to the frantic demands of a rustic demagogue.—*The Times,* 21st March, 1848.

Evidently the diehards of " free enterprise " at that time denounced modest social reform as " Communism " as their followers in our time denounced rationing and control as a " Socialist Police State ": for *The Times* concludes sanctimoniously:

> In point of fact, under very great hindrance and drawbacks, the dream of the Communist and Socialist receives its nearest possible fulfilment. The State becomes a society for the common good. The British Empire is a great friendly society . . . .

The Britain of the Poor Law and of Child Labour, of famine in Ireland and mass unemployment in England—" a great friendly society "! One might think it was Mr. Attlee praising the Britain of 1948.

In France, the victorious bourgeoisie first assuaged the workers by taking the representative of reformist Socialism, Louis Blanc, into the Government, by conceding the " right to work " and implementing it by a scheme of public works. In June, 1848, they opened the attack on the workers of Paris by closing the public workshops, provoked them to insurrection and defeated them—with the help of the petit bourgeoisie, duly frightened by the " spectre of Communism."

This was the turning point of the revolutionary movement all over Europe. The bourgeoisie had won a victory over the workers in France, but the fighting spirit the Paris workers displayed in their five days' battle against all the armed forces of the old order frightened the Continental bourgeoisie sufficiently to induce them finally to betray the cause of democracy and to ally themselves with the feudal monarchy against the people.

This was the main cause of the defeat of the Revolution in Germany, Austria and Hungary. The fear of Communism drove the lower middle class into the camp of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie into the camp of feudal reaction. The nations of Europe had to pay a terrible price for these first victories in the anti-Communist crusade. Communism was defeated—for a time, but so was democracy, so was the fight for national liberation.

In France the short Republican interlude was followed by the despotism of Napoleon III which landed France in the national catas-

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Against the warnings of the reactionaries that democratic reform would endanger the " social order " the leading paper of the bourgeois Republican opposition *National* wrote in September, 1847:

> Why should France experience any alarm at the renovation become necessary? We hear the reply . . . the public is afraid of Communism. This spectre has replaced the Republic of 1793 (i.e. Jacobin dictatorship). It has grown large in the shade, and report has given it the most alarming proportions. It is a torrent which is dragging the entire operative class into an abyss. On the first change in our political organisation, this torrent will overflow, and overthrow in its passage property, family and country.

The *National* answers:

> The Communists are not to be feared. . . All that is required is the general amelioration of the social conditions of France. The distinction of classes should be effaced, and the labourer placed in the possession of his rights.

It is understandable that the French bourgeois did not feel too sure of their ability to ban the danger of Communism in this way. The great German poet Heine who lived in Paris at that time and wrote penetrating articles on French conditions was right when he said that it was the fear of Communism which prolonged the life of the hated and despised regime and restrained the bourgeois opposition. In 1842 he wrote:—

> How they would like to tear down Louis Philippe, but they are afraid of his Majesty the Sovereign gang of rats, the monster with a thousand heads which would then come to power . . . the bourgeoisie is not afraid of the Republic, but they have an instinctive fear of Communism . . . The bourgeoisie wants in the first line order and protection of existing property rights—demands which a Republic can grant as well as the Monarchy. But these shop-keepers feel instinctively that the Republic today would not stand for the principles of the nineties, but would only be the form in which a new, unprecedented proletarian rule would assert itself with all the doctrines of common property.

Obviously even this progressive thinker who later became very friendly with Marx was frightened by the " spectre ":—

> Communism is the secret name of the terrible antagonist who opposes proletarian domination with all its consequences to the present bourgeois regime. It will be a terrible duel . . . Communism although little is talked about it now and although it is lingering in hidden attics on its miserable couch of straw is the sinister hero to whom a great although only transient part will fall in the modern tragedy.

But all the warnings of reaction and all the cowardice of wavering bourgeois democrats could not prevent the storm, heralded by the insurrections in Poland and Italy, from breaking throughout the Continent. Everywhere workers bore the brunt of the fighting, in Paris, in Vienna, in Berlin, in Prague, and in Milan, and everywhere the bourgeoisie tried to restrain the movement and to usurp its fruits.

Britain was the only country where the February revolution in Paris, although enthusiastically welcomed by all sincere democrats, did not evoke an active response. It is interesting to read the comment of *The Times* on the day when the fall of Metternich was announced. The worthy organ of Conservative opinion first explains

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Gandhi achieved this, and led the movement, even appearing to create it. Only to the modern working class, born of factory industry, and to its philosophy, Marxism, Gandhi was a stranger. This role only finally comes to an end in proportion as the masses, with the emergent leadership of the working class, begin to reach clear consciousness of their own interests, and the actual class forces and class relations begin to stand out clear in the Indian scene, without need of mythological concealment.

Gandhi's death, in a manner of speaking, symbolised all the contradictions of his life.

The apostle of the " simple life", he died in the princely mansion of the most ruthless arch-profiteering multi-millionaire of the new Indian ruling monied class.

The apostle of " non-violence", he died a victim of the hideous orgy of murder and gang-ridden violence which was in the main the reflection of long years of imperialist and reactionary intrigue and fomentation of divisions, but was also in part the nemesis of a quarter century's preaching of " non-violence " frustrating the revolutionary energy of the masses.

But he died true to his beliefs, a fighter at his post, a patriot, a martyr in the cause of humanity, and an inspiration to all who come after him.

Gandhi's imperishable achievement in the building of the Indian national movement and in the liberation struggle of humanity needs no record here. He kindled the flame of revolt against imperialist domination. He brought out the national movement from the narrow circles of liberal constitutionalism to the masses. He strove for democratic unity overriding communal divisions. Like his great predecessor, Tolstoy, he inspired burning hatred of the shackles of a false civilisation, even though he had no clear social theory to point the way to a solution.

His weaknesses followed from the transitional stage of the movement he represented. He only awoke slowly to the struggle against imperialism. When he took service in the uniform of imperialism, even though only as a stretcher-bearer, in its war against the Boers, or, even worse, in its war against the Zulus, he was still tied by old conceptions of "loyalty" which appeared again in the first world war. Like his predecessor, Tilak, he sought to combine militant nationalism with Hindu revival, even though he sought to purify Hinduism and strove tirelessly against communal and caste separatism; but this combination of nationalism and Hindu revivalism made the national front vulnerable to imperialist policies of playing on religious divisions, and helped to sow the seeds of the terrible harvest that finally resulted also in his own death at the hands of a Hindu chauvinist. His lack of a clear social theory, and combination of idealisation of the abstract "peasant" with the preaching of the doctrine of "trusteeship" of the landlord and capitalist, inevitably made his social teaching and practical leadership an instrument of the

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big propertied interests which in fact moved to capitulation to imperialism. He feared mass violence, and saw in the rising revolt of the workers and poor peasantry only the menace of "red ruin and anarchy", failing to realise until the last how much the real menace of violence and anarchy sprang, not from the left, but from the right, from reaction utilising the weapons of communalism. His theories of "non-violence" thus also in practice served the interests of the propertied classes, and, in the final resort, of imperialism.

So it came about that when the greatest national upsurge swept India after the second world war, in the days of the glorious Indian naval revolt, when Hindu-Moslem unity ruled the streets, Gandhi saw only the menace of "delivering India over to the rabble", and hastened to welcome the Cabinet Mission and advocate a compromise settlement with imperialism.

But when the compromise settlement arrived in the shape of the Mountbatten Award, and was revealed to bring the partition of India, communal conflict and the strengthened domination of right wing reaction in the national movement, Gandhi was the first of the front rank national leaders to sound the alarm. Already in July of last year, when other leaders were singing the dawn of "freedom", Gandhi proclaimed that "Dominion status for India would stink to the nostrils if Britain left India split and at war within herself". In September he sounded the note of warning of the menace of war of India and Pakistan.

As in the wake of the Mountbatten "settlement" the horrors of communal conflict and massacre spread over wide areas of India, Gandhi felt and suffered deeply in his whole being the agony of India. The private record of a friend, to whom Gandhi unbosomed his soul in September, 1947, may now justly be made public to show the depth of the anguish and disillusionment through which Gandhi had to pass in those days when so many superficial politicians of India and Britain were singing their little songs of triumph. Gandhi said, according to this record:

> "I do not understand how all these terrible things are happening in our country. For many years the Congress has struggled and grown, and it has grown stronger and stronger, and advanced higher and higher; but now, after we have reached the pinnacle, somehow these horrible things are happening, and the Congress is not able to do anything effective to stop them. What mistakes have we made, for we must have made mistakes? Otherwise how could all these things happen? It seems that while we were building the Congress, at the same time it was decaying; and today it is obvious that it has decayed, because it is not able to fight all the bad things that are going on in India today."

And he went on in words that spoke the agony of his soul:

> "Everything looks dark to me, very dark, and I see very little hope. Some people say that after the dark night comes the bright dawn; but I only see the darkness of the night; I do not know when the dawn will come."

But Gandhi did not despair. He fought. He threw his frail body and indomitable will into the forefront of the fight for communal

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unity. And in this last heroic fight he began to find his friends, no longer on the right, but on the left. In his great campaigns in Calcutta and in Delhi he worked in close association with the Communists. At the last Gandhi and the revolutionary working class began to find one another in the common fight for democratic unity of the people. The Communists helped, not only to organise the campaign, but to equip him for the fight. They exposed to him the full sinister role of the reactionary communalist organisations, of the R.S.S., which has at last been banned only after Gandhi's death, and of the Hindu Mahasabha. At first Gandhi, as he himself later said publicly, refused to believe it; he had met the leaders of the R.S.S., and they had told him they were only pious Hindus with the most innocent objectives. But the damning dossier of concrete evidence was laid before him. Gandhi was convinced.

With Gandhi to be convinced was to act. He went to the All India Congress Committee in November and opened the offensive. He denounced the R.S.S. He denounced by name the backers of the R.S.S. and of the Hindu Mahasabha in the Congress and in the Government. He declared:

> "I met an R.S.S. leader some days ago, and even praised the R.S.S. because of what he said. But soon I came to know that I was deceived. Those who are in the R.S.S. cannot remain in the Congress."

He spoke of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjea, Minister for Industry and Supplies in the Indian Central Government:

> "Is Dr. Shyama Prasad here? He is not here. I wish he was here. He is in the Mahasabha. The Mahasabha is an enemy of the Congress. And therefore he can have no place in the Cabinet. Or else he must leave the Mahasabha."

In January Gandhi brought into play his final weapon—his fast. When Gandhi proclaimed his fast on January 12, he declared:

> "Death for me would be a glorious deliverance rather than that I should be a helpless witness to the destruction of India."

He proclaimed his fast, not only for communal unity, but against what he described, quoting a friend's letter from Andhra in Madras, as "factionalism in Congress circles, money-making activities by several members of the Legislative Council and Assembly, and the weakness of Ministers", and went on to say: "The corruption described by him is no monopoly of Andhra. Let us beware." Gandhi even named Patel, the right wing dictator of the Congress machine, when he declared that he was no "Yes-man" of Patel, and added:

> "If Sardar Patel is the official enemy of the Moslems, Pandit Nehru can ask him to retire."

With this open offensive against the dark forces in India Gandhi sealed his doom. It began to be whispered in high quarters on the right wing: "The old man is going mad; he would be better out of the way." Leaflets of the reactionary communalists openly called for the assassination of Gandhi and Nehru.

Hardly had Gandhi's fast ended than the first attempt on his life was made. Police investigations are understood to have revealed a

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widespread plot. Yet it appears that no steps were taken to protect Gandhi's life. Patel, as Minister of the Home Department, was in charge of the police.

On January 30 Gandhi was assassinated.

Patel stood over the dead body of Gandhi; then he broadcast to the people. He declared in his broadcast the cold words:

> "How good it would have been if he had passed away during his fast rather than have this thing happen today."

The trial may reveal some of the background of the plot. There are those who have noted a certain analogy between the assassination of Gandhi in India and the assassination of Aung Sen in Burma a few months earlier. Both were the most prominent national leaders of their people. Aung Sen had also approved a compromise settlement with imperialism, then had shown signs of becoming restive and was in the act of negotiating a united front agreement with the Communists, when he was suddenly removed—by gunmen of right wing extremists.

Gandhi's death has shocked India into awakening. At last the popular demand has compelled the banning of the R.S.S., although the effectiveness of this will depend on the action of the authorities. The offensive against the dark forces goes forward. A serious test of strength between the left and the right, between democracy and reaction, between the fighters for independence and the allies of imperialism, is developing. The need for democratic unity of the left is greater than ever.

The democratic forces of India will carry forward the fight to see that Gandhi's death shall not be in vain, that the fight shall go forward to the victory of true independence and democratic unity for India.

Gandhi, though dead, speaks to India and the world.

RECOVERY WITHOUT MARSHALL

By WALTER STORM

THOSE politicians and writers who expect Eastern Europe to reply to the Marshall Plan are correct, but when they expect the reply to come in the form of sabotage and disruption, they are looking in the wrong places. The reply consists in the steady recovery of the Eastern European countries, and in the network of commercial treaties they have drawn up among themselves.

This week marked the end of the first year of Czechoslovakia's Two-Year Plan, a Plan which is of great interest to western countries, because Czechoslovakia is the first predominantly industrialised state to nationalise a large sector of its industry. The occasion is being used to review the results of the plan so far, to check on mistakes, and to make adjustments which will ensure that the Plan is fulfilled by the end of 1948.

There is not only great satisfaction with the results so far, but a

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certainty that the entire Plan will be fulfilled during this year. In fact, a new plan—the Five Year Plan, which aims to lay the basis of a major heavy industry—has already been announced, and will go into operation in 1949.

The industrial production sector of the Two Year Plan has been fulfilled at an average of 100.9%. In coal production, in the metal founding industry, and in heavy industry generally, where fairly ambitious targets were set, the targets have either been exceeded, or fulfilled to within a few points. This is of tremendous importance, and is the reason for the optimism about the final fulfilment of the plan. In 1947 industrial production has come almost level with production in 1929, which was the peak year of the pre-war boom.

In agriculture, however, there was a setback due to the drought which hit Czechoslovakia last year—the worst within living memory. Only about half the planned bread grain and potato crops could be gathered. The sharp reduction in feeding-stuffs took milk and eggs off the ration of all adults in the last half of 1947. The other part of the plan where there was a serious shortfall is in the building industry, which fulfilled only slightly more than half its targets. Shortage of labour and of building materials were among the reasons, but the main one was that building is largely in the hands of numerous private contractors, whom it has been found difficult to organise and draw into large scale operations.

The drought would have caused a grave economic crisis but for the steadying effect of the Two Year Plan. It enabled goods to be taken from the home market and diverted to export, so as to pay for the import of goods from abroad. The Soviet Union, and to a lesser extent, Jugoslavia, sent large quantities of foodstuffs and so prevented any real distress. It has, of course, meant a reduction in consumer goods available to the Czech public, but with industrial production succeeding so well, this has not really been serious. More serious is the fact that capital, which could have been used to improve Czechoslovak industry, has had to be diverted to the export trade.

The Czechoslovak people do not have to wait until the end of 1948 to get concrete benefits from the Plan—they are getting them all the time. Except for the recent reduction in food rations (which will be gradually restored next year) the standard of living has been steadily rising. The Czechoslovak people are better shod than ever before, and when the new textile distribution system gets under way, they will be better dressed as well. More of them take holidays than ever before—in the summer and winter holiday homes which the trade unions have established for workers at all the best resorts. Attendance at theatres, cinemas, sports events and other entertainments has never been bigger. There is a great range of health and social services, adequate pensions, and a great levelling up of wages, to the benefit of the lower paid groups. Unemployment has disappeared. Most important of all, the dangerous inflationary tendencies in all the Western countries are completely absent in Czechoslovakia. Prices have not

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only remained steady—there was an average reduction in prices of 12% for all consumers' commodities last year. In addition, income tax was reduced, and family allowances increased.

When you walk along the streets of Prague, you are conscious of a sense of prosperity and well being. Prague is today one of the most prosperous cities of Europe. Yet you see few expensively dressed women, beauty saloons, exclusive dress shops or swank night clubs. On the other hand you see no beggars, and the population looks alert, healthy, well fed and well dressed. The prosperity is spread out evenly among the whole population. How different is the atmosphere from that in Rome or Paris, where economic salvation by the Marshall Plan seems to have left a train of misery and chaos.

"We consider hard work, planning, and organisation more important than finance agreements", I was told by a Czech economist. "That's why we have not been fascinated by the Marshall Plan. Obtaining foreign credits is all right, but not when they have political strings. And even foreign credits must be combined with a planned work programme."

The Two Year Plan is mainly a recovery programme—its aim is to raise the standard of living to 10% above the best pre-war figure. There is no intention of altering the character of the country's economy, by laying down large new industrial projects, except to some extent in Slovakia.

There is no nervousness or timidity about embarking on the Five Year Plan when the present plan is completed. The commercial treaties, signed with the Soviet Union and Poland, ensure that not only existing factories but factories projected under the Five Year Plan will be kept working at full blast as far ahead as anyone can see.

Here in Czechoslovakia one can see how the Two Year Plan plays a part in every worker's life. In the trams and trains passengers scan the published results of the Plan as eagerly as if they were football scores. Recently when a factory pulled up its performance from 85 to 98% of its quota, this was treated as front page news, and given as big a splash in the papers as murder trials and political sensations get in the Western press. Inside all factories, canteens and office buildings, there are signs and posters publicising the Plan—and it is the workers themselves who insist that they are put up. In one factory outside Prague I asked a worker why there is so much enthusiasm for the Plan.

"There's no such thing as producing too much now", he explained, "it was different before the war. Then if the factories produced too much and the shops became full of goods, the workers were put out into the streets. Now everything we produce makes everyone better off."

At the main entrance of another factory, we saw an enormous notice board, with the names of the departments in one column, and opposite them their weekly quotas under the Two Year Plan. A worker explained to me how it is used.

"If a department scores 130% of its quota, we hang up an aeroplane symbol, if 120% an automobile, if 110% a bicycle. 100% is represented by a

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man walking; a baby crawling means 90%, a crab 80%, and a tortoise 70%. Sometimes crawling babies, even tortoises go up on the board, but they are never there for more than a week."

This is an example of the "on-the-spot" incentive behind the Plan. The real incentives, of course, are much deeper. As there is no private profit to be made in nationalised concerns, the rights of the workers are put as a first priority. So we find works councils and production committees having much to do with the management and running of industry. Victimisation and unfair practices have practically disappeared. There have been strikes, it is true, but they have been for very unusual reasons—when the workers insisted on certain factories being nationalised, or when they opposed court decisions to hand back enterprises to private owners. All these make the workers feel they are working for themselves, or at least for the whole working community, and this gives them a proprietary interest in the whole Two Year Plan.

That is why to help the Plan along thousands of workers spend their week-ends doing brigade work—digging in the coal mines, helping gather the harvest, repairing broken-down farm machinery. The wives sew damaged clothing for orphanages and hospitals, and their children spend their holidays cleaning the floors and windows of their class rooms. That is why the Communist Party has been able to promise that its members will devote 30 million hours of work so as to complete the Plan by October this year.

Speaking of the first year's results, the Prime Minister, Klement Gottwald, said,

"We have proved in practice that planned economy and the people's democracy are the surest and most successful way from post-war crisis to consolidation and future prosperity."

There is the answer to the Marshall Plan.

The Editor of LABOUR MONTHLY *will be very glad to receive contributions in the form of finished articles or of suggestions and data for articles. The customary proviso must be made that no responsibility is undertaken for manuscripts sent to him nor can he promise to enter into any correspondence regarding contributions not accepted.*

The articles in LABOUR MONTHLY *are indexed in the International Index to Periodicals, New York City, U.S.A., as well as in the annual index in each December issue.*

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THE REVOLUTION SPREADS TO VIENNA AND BERLIN

Marx, expelled from Belgium, went to Paris and plunged into revolutionary activity there from the first week-end of March to the first week-end of April.

On the day King Leopold ordered the expulsion, the Central Board in Brussels, which was now the headquarters of the Communist League (by the London Central Board's decision—communicated to Marx some six days earlier), had decided to transfer the seat of the Central Board to Paris and to hand over all its authority to Marx, with power to set up and nominate the membership of a new Central Board. After an active week in Paris Marx writes to Engels in Brussels that the Chartist leaders Ernest Jones and Julian Harney had come over to Paris together with three leading members of the Communist League in London; and that the new Central Board of seven has been constituted with Marx as Chairman.

Amongst the German exiles in Paris Marx conducted a fierce struggle against Bornstedt and Herwegh. Engels, writing nearly forty years later, described this struggle:

"At that time the craze for revolutionary legions prevailed in Paris. Spaniards, Italians, Belgians, Dutch, Poles and Germans came together in crowds to liberate their respective fatherlands. The German legion was led by Herwegh, Bornstedt and Boernstein . . . . . We opposed this playing with revolution in the most decisive fashion. In the midst of the ferment then going on in Germany, to add invasion which was to import the revolution compulsorily from outside meant to put an obstacle in the way of revolution in Germany itself, to strengthen the governments and to deliver the legionnaires themselves—Lamartine guaranteed for that—defenceless into the hands of the German troops. When then in Vienna and Berlin the revolution was victorious,† the legion became all the more purposeless; but having been once begun, the game was continued.

"We founded a German communist club, in which we advised the workers to keep away from the legion and to return instead to their homes singly and work there for the movement. Our old friend Flocon, who had a seat in the provisional government, obtained for the workers sent by us the same facilities for their journey as had been granted to the legionnaires."

In this way Marx organised that month the return to Germany of some three to four hundred workers, mostly League members, who were supplied with material for agitation in the shape of the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO *(of which a thousand copies reached Paris from London about March 20) and also of the "Demands of the Communist Party in Germany" printed on March 30 (see Marx: Selected Works. Vol. II.). A few days later Marx, Engels, Wolff and others left France for Germany.*

DECISION OF THE CENTRAL BOARD OF THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

The Central Board of the C.L. in session at Brussels, in view of the London Central Board's decision, whereby it transfers the seat of the Central Board to Brussels and dissolves itself as Central

† The revolutions in Vienna (March 13, 1848) and in Berlin (March 18, 1848).

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Board, and whereby further the Board of the leading Brussels circle is constituted the Central Board, taking into consideration:

that under present circumstances all meetings of League members and particularly of Germans are impossible in Brussels;

that the leading League members are already either arrested and/or expelled or are hourly expecting expulsion from Brussels;

that Paris at this moment is the centre of the whole revolutionary movement;

that the present circumstances call for a specially energetic League leadership, to which an immediate discretionary authority is an unconditional need;

resolves:

Art. 1. The Central Board is transferred to Paris.

Art 2. The Brussels Central Board hand over absolute discretionary power to League member Karl Marx for the immediate central direction of all League affairs and with a responsibility to the new Central Board to be constituted and to the next Congress.

Art. 3. They charge Marx, in Paris, as soon as circumstances permit, to constitute a new Central Board, according to his choice, of the most suitable League members, and to that end to summon to Paris even League members who do not reside there.

Art. 4. The Brussels Central Board dissolves itself.

Decided at Brussels, 3rd March, 1848.

THE CENTRAL BOARD,
Engels, F. Fischer, Gigot, H. Steingens, K. Marx.

From Letters of Marx to Engels in Brussels.

Paris, 16 Rue Neuve, Menilmontant (c. 12th March).

. . . . . I advise you to come here. Central Board has now been here constituted, as Jones, Harney, Schapper, Bauer, Moll are here. I have been appointed as Chairman and Schapper as Secretary. Members are Wallau, Lupus,* Moll, Bauer and Engels.§ Jones went back to England yesterday; Harney is ill.

Salut. Thine. K. M.

16th March, 1848.

These days I have not a moment of time to write in more detail. . . . . Here the bourgeoisie is again becoming atrociously impudent and reactionary, *mais elle verra.* Bornstedt and Herwegh are behaving like rascals. They have set up here a black-red-gold union against us. The former today is expelled from the League.

Thine. K. M.

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*Nickname of Wilhelm Wolff, to whose memory twenty years later Marx dedicated the first volume of *Capital.*

§Engels, then in Brussels, reached Paris about March 21.

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Book Reviews

Petkov or Zoroa?

The Trial of Nikola D. Petkov (631 pp., Press Department, Bulgarian Ministry of Information, Sofia, 1947).

THIS book gives an almost verbatim account of the 10-day trial of Nicholas Petkov and others. The translation is not brilliant, but is sufficiently clear to be readable. Petkov's co-defendants were two colonels, one major, and an official of Petkov's political party, the Agrarian Union. They all pleaded guilty. Petkov alone pleaded not guilty.

The trial reveals how these disaffected Army officers approached Petkov for a forecast of the political future of Bulgaria, and how he told them that they must prepare for a forcible coup d'état as a last resort for overthrowing the Fatherland Front. Thus encouraged, and consulting Petkov from time to time, they set about forming secret cells of officers and drawing up plans for the seizure of the War Office. This was the activity which resulted in the death sentence on Petkov.

The party official, Ivanov, testified that he was ordered by Petkov to incite party members to engage in sabotage, incendiarism and terrorism and a good number of witnesses spoke of the results. A bomb was thrown into the house of a village mayor whom the Agrarian Union did not like, injuring both the mayor and his wife. A house was set on fire to divert attention from the planned rescue of a political prisoner. For this activity Petkov did not receive a death sentence.

A further count against Petkov alone was the publication of false and tendentious propaganda in his newspaper, calculated to undermine the morale of the armed forces. This count did not carry a death sentence. On another count of conspiring with a General Popov, Petkov was acquitted.

The remarkable number of 69* witnesses (44 for the prosecution; 25 for the defence) were orally examined at the trial, and the evidence of 60 of them is contained in this book. Both prosecution and defence put in a large quantity of documents. All the accused were legally represented, Petkov by no fewer than five distinguished counsel, all of whom addressed the court. Twenty-four foreign journalists were present at the trial, which was held in public.

A study of the proceedings leaves no room for doubting Petkov's guilt or for questioning the fairness of his trial, which was conducted on normal continental lines and in compliance with the pre-war Bulgarian Criminal Procedure Code. Some ten of the witnesses—and three of his co-accused—directly implicate him in the military conspiracy and flatly contradict his version of the facts. Not

*Three of these, Dankov, Constantinov and Vachev, are accidentally omitted from the list of witnesses on p.517.

CORRESPONDENCE. We have received an appeal from the British Council for German Democracy, signed by Dame Sybil Thorndike, R. Vaughan Williams, O.M., Naomi Mitchison and C. L. Wrenn, stating that a Research Library for Germany is being built up in Dusseldorf and asking that "gifts of money, books and music, which should have a scholarly or artistic value," be sent to the following address: British Council for German Democracy, c/o Notable Press Ltd., 17 Bishops Bridge Road, London, W.2, and labelled: Dusseldorf Research Library.

Trade Unions and Communism

by

ARTHUR HORNER

THREEPENCE

(off-print from February issue)

LOOK OUT FOR APRIL ISSUE OF LABOUR MONTHLY — AND ORDER EARLY.

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that Petkov always stuck to the same version. At one time he was saying he had never met either of the colonels; later he admitted meeting one of them. The remainder of the witnesses trace the ramifications of the conspiracy. Even the strict English rules permit the acts of one conspirator to be used in evidence against the other conspirators, once the conspiracy has been shown to exist.

The courts of any country would inevitably have imposed the maximum penalty on charges of such gravity; and Petkov was sentenced to death on the count of high treason. One colonel was given 15 years, and the other defendants 10 years each. There was an appeal to the Court of Cassation by Petkov's five lawyers, who thought out no fewer than 17 ingenious grounds of appeal. The Court, of four senior judges, did not think much of any of them, and I respectfully share their view. Among the many organisations which expressed a favourable opinion on the verdict was the Bulgarian Bar Association.

There is nothing whatever to shock a lawyer familiar with continental procedure in this account of a painstaking public inquiry lasting ten days and involving the examination of 69 witnesses—and conducted by a regular superior court of three professional judges. And yet there were howls and yelps of protest from some people. How genuinely these people were concerned with principles of justice may be gauged from their complete silence at Franco's judicial murder of Zoroa last December. Here the prisoners, after waiting in custody over a year, were given 24 hours' notice of "trial" by *ad hoc* court martial of Army officials in an inaccessible provincial prison. Twenty-three defendants, forbidden to have counsel, were dealt with in six hours, each accused having four minutes to put forward his defence. Zoroa was expelled from the court room; and no foreign journalists were present. Yet here the Foreign Office refused to intervene. But the patient and civilised Bulgarian procedure for trying a traitor evoked almost daily notes of protest. It is

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1848 — 1948

Contents

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clear that what inspired them was no love of abstract justice, but a sympathy—to say the least—for treason when committed in Bulgaria.

DUDLEY COLLARD.

A Window in Paris

Démocratie Nouvelle, a monthly review of world politics. Director: Jaques Duclos. Editor-in-chief: Joanny Berlioz. (Robert Petit, 29 rue du Quatre-Septembre, Paris 2C, France, pp. 56, annual subscription 30*s*; six months 16*s*).

WITH the January, 1948, index to previous numbers, *Démocratie Nouvelle* completes its first year of publication and enables a survey to be made of this magazine, the first of its kind to be published in the French Republic. In the great struggle of the mid-Twentieth Century between democracy and reaction, the purpose of the magazine as set forth by Jaques Duclos was to stand "for democracy, widened and renewed, democracy concrete and alive, flesh and blood of the people". *Démocratie Nouvelle*, as a new departure, has more than justified its purpose.

Here are gathered together articles not only by outstanding French writers (several of whom like Duclos, Berlioz and Courtade, contribute each month) but also by leading communists and democratic writers from other countries. These articles in the course of a year have surveyed the world situation and have thrown light on the struggle in a number of countries from which little information is made public in Britain (e.g. Turkey, Viet-nam). The simple clear maps with which each number is illustrated are of considerable value, as is also the monthly diary of events. Moreover, *Démocratie Nouvelle* gives each month several pages of significant extracts from the monthly or fortnightly magazines of a progressive tendency in other countries (amongst which extracts the LABOUR MONTHLY usually appears) and so enables readers to have a glimpse of democratic or communist standpoints ranging from the New York *New Republic* (of which Henry Wallace last year was editor) to the clandestine *Avante*, central organ of the Portuguese Communist Party.

The many in Britain who read French can, from the columns of this magazine, get a view of the world from a window in Paris.

R. P. A.

Shorter Notices

Changing Epoch series. Numbers 1-4. (Birch Books, Ltd., 96 pp. and 2/6 each).

THIS series, as is said in the first number, offers the reader "informative studies on constructive developments in other countries, written by experts in various fields". They cover economic, social and cultural activities "of a progressive and democratic character that are taking place throughout the world". In practice, the studies have been mainly European and so far neither the U.S.A. nor the U.S.S.R. have been treated. But an abundance of useful information has been provided of a kind not found elsewhere, e.g., "Stabilisation of the Hungarian currency" by Paloczi-Norvath, and "Economics of the Ruhr" by Christopher Freeman, both in No. 3: "Population and Livestock in Portugal" by J. Costa, Junior, in No. 2—a shaft of light on this nook of Fascism in South-West Europe.

R. P. A.

The Greek Question. "Soviet News." London, 1947. 1s.

IN nearly 100 closely-printed pages, these speeches of Vyshinsky, Gromyko and Manuilsky at the United Nations General Assembly session of September-October last year present a wealth of information on the situation in Greece, facts for the most part studiously ignored by the press in this country. Since then the anti-democratic terror and chaos in Greece has gone from bad to worse, making still more clear, as these speeches show, that the root cause lies in Anglo-American intervention employed to bolster up an anti-popular regime that was created and survives only by virtue of foreign bayonets.

C. P. D.

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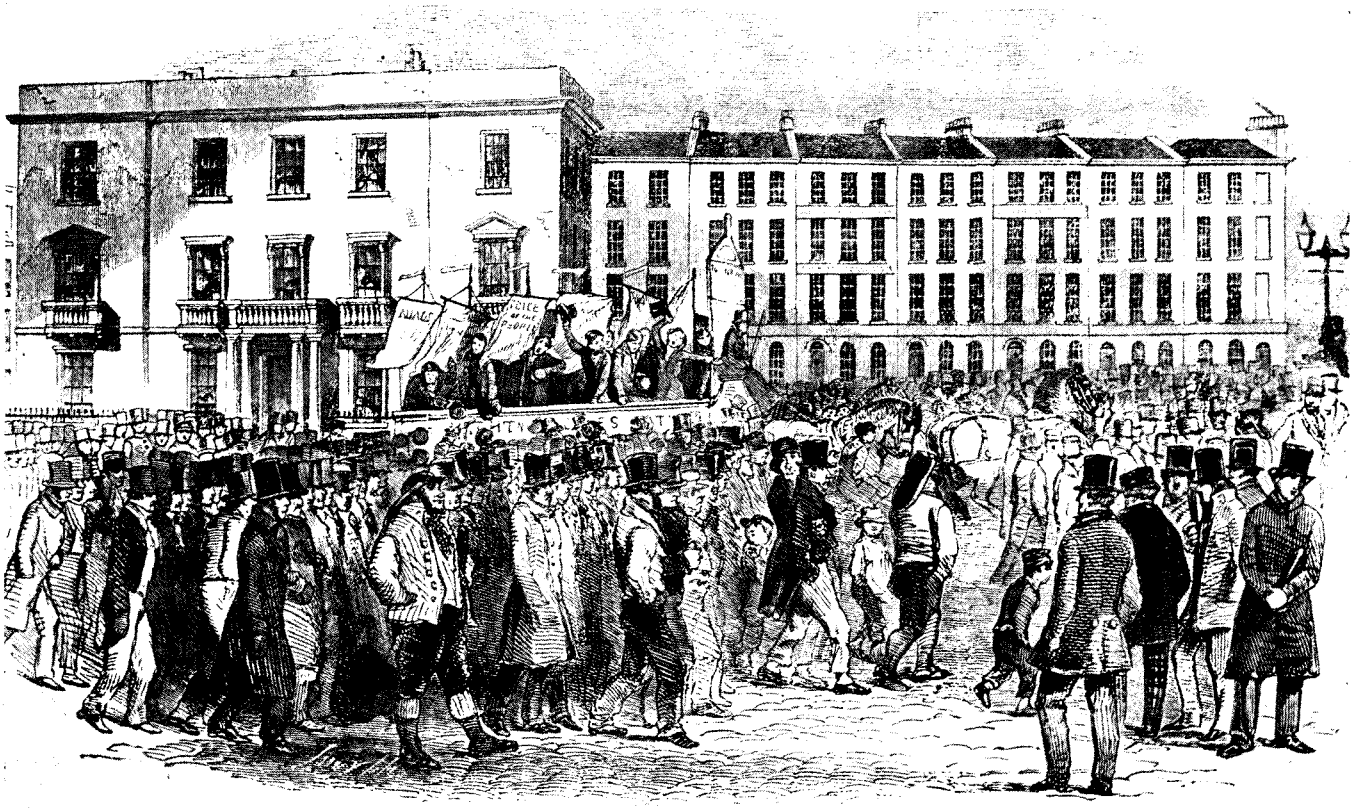

PART OF THE PROCESSION.—SKETCHED AT BLACKFRIARS-BRIDGE.

The Chartist demonstration on April 10, 1848, the plan for which was communicated to Marx in mid-February. Reproduced (by permission) from the *Illustrated London News* of April 15, 1848.

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Kommunistischen Partei.

London.

Frontispiece of the original edition (in German) of the Manifesto of the Communist Party, printed in Bishopsgate, London.

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